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ABSTRACT

The efforts to survive of Cazenovia College, a private, two-year, residential, woman's college in Cazenovia, New York, are described, based on interviews, observation, and analysis of written materials. The college announced its closing in 1974 and subsequently reopened successfully. The college was assessed in terms of its efficiency in internal design and operation and its effectiveness in organizational-environment transactions. Additionally, the behavior of college staff was analyzed to determine what they did and felt in the struggle to maintain an organization. Fifty-seven present and past participants in the life of the college were interviewed, and 11 formal college meetings were attended for observation purposes. It is suggested that in the six years in which Cazenovia experienced a steady financial decline, the board and president failed to provide the necessary leadership for a declining institution, and the faculty resisted change. The president failed because he attempted to reach decisions through consensus; the board failed by not identifying the problem at Cazenovia and not choosing a president with the skills necessary for overcoming Cazenovia's decline. The faculty wished to remain a liberal arts college in spite of the failure of the liberal arts curriculum to attract students. The primary group that came forward to save Cazenovia was a group of business people from the village, and a business model and strong manager approach were used to save the college. A new president accepted the position with the condition that the board stay out the the everyday operation of the college, and the faculty senate was circumvented through task forces that the president appointed. (SW)

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Organizational Response for Survival:

A Case Study in Higher Education[1]

In the 1960's, a period of affluence for higher education, colleges grew almost without regard to their mission or the effectiveness of their management. Those times have passed and an era of stabilization and retrenchment has arrived. Most institutions of higher education are troubled by inflation and shrinking applicant pools. Administrators seek diligently to operate their institutions more efficiently by eliminating excesses. While efficiency is examined internally, methods for reaching and selling new students are applied externally. Concurrent with these actions, there is concern for the maintenance of quality in the face of financial exigency and fear that collective bargaining units will form in response to salaries that fail to meet inflation. These are the conditions and concerns that inspired this case study of organizational survival.

The study sought to answer the question, how does an institution threatened to the point of closing by external and internal problems manage to revitalize itself? In this respect it differs from other related studies (Cheit, 1971 and 1973; Jellema, 1973; and Lloyd and Friedman, 1976) which focused primarily on the conditions of institutional failure. This study examines the survival efforts of a single institution, Cazenovia College, which announced its closing in 1974 and subsequently reopened successfully. Success is defined as a balanced budget and a capacity enrollment. This definition is related to the concepts expressed by Katz and Kahn (1966) concerning organizational efficiency and effectiveness. Efficiency, as they

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[1]For a detailed description of the activities alluded to in the paper see Hammond, M. F. Organizational Response for Survival: A Case Study in Higher Education. (Doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, 1980).

define it, is primarily a criterion of the internal life of an organization as measured through its economic and technical aspects. Effectiveness is ultimately decided by the larger social environment on which the organization depends for labor, materials and absorption of the organizational product. Effectiveness is defined in its broadest sense, referring to any organizational transaction with the environment which perpetuates its survival. The survival of Cazenovia was examined by considering two aspects of the college's organization: its efficiency in internal design and operation and its effectiveness in organizational-environment transactions.

Additionally, a description of the behavior of those within the organization is included. This description is intended to contribute to the reader's understanding of what participants do and feel in the struggle to maintain an organizaion. From its inception the study had two goals: to describe clearly what happened at the institution just prior to its failure and during the period of its revitalization, and to speculate on the meaning of the events of these two periods.

The Setting

The study occurred at Cazenovia College, a private, two-year, residential, woman's college in Cazenovia, New York. The college has many similarities to the approximately 500 colleges which because of their smallness, moderate selectivity and relative obscurity, Astin has called "invisible colleges" (Astin, 1972). The college was founded in 1824 and is one of the 125 remaining women's colleges in the United States (Bulletin, National Center for Educational Statistics, 1979). Located in an upper-middle-class suburban community, it is the village's second largest employer. Enrollment at the college in the fall of 1979 was 500 students. This is near capacity and reflects a continuous growth since the college's reopening in 1974 with an enrollment of 212 students.

Methodology

Case study methods, including participant observation, interviews, and document review were employed in this qualitative study. (For particular reference to the use of qualitative methods in the study of organizations see Blau, 1955; Goffman, 1959, 1961; Gouldner, 1954a, 1954b; Gubrium, 1975; and Selznick, 1949, 1952. In the study of higher education see Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961 and Becker and Geer, 1968). The roots of qualitative research methodology lie in anthropology and sociology. "The method supposes that one can properly acquire knowledge of the phenomenon from intensive exploration of a single case" (Becker and Geer, 1968, p.2). The major purpose of the design is to describe events rather than to test hypotheses.

The qualitative researcher assumes a different role from that of the quantitative researcher although they each seek truth. The qualitative researcher tries to assume the role of those being studied through an understanding of their thoughts and feelings. The researcher's presentation of events is often supported through direct quotations from the participants. Direct quotations give a "feel for the situation" and provide the reader with a "basis for alternative considerations" while providing "examples of conclusions" (Becker and Geer, 1968).

Data Collection

Data collection occurred over a period of seven months. During this time 57 present and past participants in the life of the college were interviewed, 11 formal college meetings were attended and participants were observed in numerous informal encounters. Additionally, hundreds of documents, e.g. reports, minutes, personal correspondence, and newspapers were read for information.

Interviews were unstructured, usually beginning with an explanation of the study as an effort to describe what happens within an institution struggling for survival. Perhaps because of the emotional quality of the closing and reopening of the college, participants seemed to want to discuss and reflect on their experiences there. The unstructured interview allowed a full range of expression concerning their beliefs and feelings.

Interviews were recorded with notes similar to speed writing, in which articles and conjuntions are omitted and other words abbreviated. Immediately after the interview, the notes were recorded on audio tape, including a description of the setting and the non-verbal behavior of the person being interviewed. These recordings were then transcribed into field notes which were copied, analyzed, highlighted, and coded for similarities and developing themes.

At the end of each interview I would ask the person being intervived what other participants they believed I should interview. There was a cluster of names that was continuously mentioned along with a few new ones each time. Near the end of the interviewing repetition began to occur with all names mentioned. This tendency for redundancy of suggested names began to occur at about the same time that redundancy in information occurred. It was at this point that unstructured data gathering stopped, and future interviews focused on a particular issue that was still unclear and needed explication.

The following figure shows the number of participants interviewed within various groups related to the institution. The completion of 57 interviews was not a predetermined number. When redundancy occurred, unstructured interviewing ended. This might have occurred at 50 or 64 or 48. For this study it was 57.

Figure 1

Interview Clusters

Administrators		Faculty		Trustees		
Past	Present	Full time	Part time	Past	Present	Past
6	6	7	1	3	5*	4

Townspeople	State Agency Personnel	Students	Alumni
2	1	6	3

Staff		Parents	Faculty Wife
Present	Past		
7	2	3	1

*Three of the present Board members were involved earlier as townspeople to save the college.

Data Analysis

While in the field observing, listening to and talking with participants and reading documents, the question in the back of the qualitative researcher's mind is, what does it all mean? As researcher, I compared the college with other colleges and similar life experiences which I had known. Over a period of three months, for three hours each week, the meaning of the data was discussed with a group of other qualitative researchers. Concepts were presented, questioned, and analyzed. During the time of these discussions the literature was also searched for explanations of the findings. Acceptance of the researcher's explanations by the reader will depend on the reader's perspective and the researcher's ability to shape an ambiguous and indeterminate reality. The conclusions which are presented are speculations based on the

researcher's interpretation of the data. The credibility of those conclusions may be verified by the participants confirmation or by replication in other studies.

Findings and Interpretations

In higher education, even in financially affluent times, some institutions fail. Historically small colleges have a high rate of birth and death. For example, from 1770-1870, 891 institutions were founded and 650 failed (Hodgkinson, 1971). In more recent history, from 1970-1975, 66% of the colleges which closed or merged had enrollments of less than 500 (Lloyd and Friedman, 1976). Specialized and small institutions, unlike large and diverse institutions are seen as more susceptible to failure. Their small size often places them in a tenuous financial position, since a small drop in enrollment has large financial implications. Large institutions can offer a diverse curricula which allows for expansion in strong program areas when others are shrinking in size. In this manner the weak may be supported by the strong. The small institution has no such versatility, and therefore must monitor its environment carefully or may suddenly find that the college's purpose is no longer viable. Evidence that Cazenovia has practiced adaptation to its environment in order to survive may be seen in its history. When there was no longer a demand for secondary schools Cazenovia became a junior college. When co-education faltered during the war years, the institution became a woman's college, and when the liberal arts failed, Cazenovia focused on vocational programs. In a significant way, Cazenovia's survival appears closely related to the college's adaptability to its environment.

Failure

In the six years in which Cazenovia experienced a steady financial decline a number of situational factors appear related to what culminated in the

college's failure. The Board and President failed to provide the necessary leadership for a declining institution, and the faculty resisted change in the academic program even in the face of academic failure.

The President failed because he attempted to reach decisions through concensus. When the consensual model proved unsuccessful for decision making, he did not exert the power necessary to bring about decisions and action. Cyert (1978) tells us that an expanding organization can exist with little central control, but when contraction of the organization occurs central administration must take action. Cazenovia'a problem was not identified, strategies for a solution were not determined, and unified action was not taken to reach a solution.

The Board failed by not identifying the problem at Cazenovia and choosing a president with the skills necessary for overcoming Cazenovia's decline. Generally the Board exhibited a low level of commitment to the college, which may have been due to the fact that none of their lives were directly affected by the college's closing. As part of their managerial failure, the President and Board never openly discussed the imminent failure of the college. Two explanations have been hypothesized for this behavior: their embarrassment and guilt that the college's failure would ultimately be seen as their failure and an unwillingness to address an emotional situation. For whatever reason their refusal to discuss the issue promoted the faculty's and staff's denial that a real problem existed. This denial further thwarted a serious organizational search for solutions, which Cyert (1978) has predicted.

For faculty, the denial additionally supported their collective wish to remain a liberal arts college in spite of the failure of the liberal arts curriculum to attract students. Their fight against change to a vocational curriculum seems embedded in three issues: the difficulty of change (Kaufman,

1971), what faculty saw as a threat to their status and position as a liberal arts faculty (Gusfield, 1963), and the general tendency to maintain a role once it has been established (White, 1978). It seems likely that other faltering colleges will also exhibit Boards with low commitment to the insitutions and little understanding of their colleges' operational problems, presidents unequipped in the skills necessary for guiding a declining institution, and faculties who resist change even in the face of potential institutional failure.

The Fight for Survival

The closing of any college, army post, factory, or business has an impact on the community in which it is located. The size of that impact is dependent on the size of the organization which is closing and the size of the community in which it is located. For Cazenovia, a small community, the impact of the college's closing would have been great had the college remained closed. Although the college is relatively small, it is the second largest employer, the public schools being the largest. In a larger community, the closing of a small college might have a less noticeable effect. However, no matter what the size of the college or the community, it is to the college's advantage to show the community just what it does offer: the buying power of employees and students, support for community organizations (schools, volunteer groups, etc.) and a desirable cultural influence. Cazenovia had not solicited help from the village, and it was only at the announced closing that the business people in the village realized the impending loss and mobilized to save the college. This group of townspeople called themselves the Committee to Save the College. They negotiated the agreement with the State Education Department and the Dormitory Authority of New York to reopen the college, and at the college's reopening they were involved in every facet of its operation.

An additional external factor was helpful to Cazenovia in its fight for survival. One of the major hardships from which Cazenovia was suffering at the time of its announced closing was bond payments to the Dormitory Authority of the State of New York. These payments amounted to almost $400,000 a year. If the college closed there would be a default on these payments. At the time of Cazenovia's failure, New York City was experiencing great financial difficulty and a possible default on its bond payments. Bond holders were generally very nervous about their investments. The Dormitory Authority had not had a default up to this time and because of the general tenseness within the market they particularly wanted to avoid a default now. When the Committee to Save the College suggested a deferment of the bond payment for one year, along with a five-year plan for rebuilding the college, the Dormitory Authority accepted their suggestion. The Authority was much more willing to extend itself because of the threatening financial picture in New York City, than would have been the case in financially stable times. As historians point out, history is often made by the intelligent use of events which might otherwise seem unrelated. This incident exemplifies how the Committee to Save the College made positive use of seemingly unrelated events.

Although Cazenovia's primary source of help was people from the community, students also contributed to the initial success of Cazenovia's fight for survival. Because of their emotional ties to the college they wanted to see the institution succeed, not fail.

Congruent with student interest in the success of their college, alumni might also be expected to have a vested interest in their alma mater's success. In Cazenovia's case, the alumni contributed little support at the closing, as compared to those from the village and enrolled students. This may be due to the fact that Cazanovia is a two-year, woman's college. Generally a graduate's allegiance is to the college awarding the terminal degree.

This is commonly a four-year-college. Often, at least in the past, couples' support of a college went to the husband's alma mater. This may be changing with more women joining the work force and contributing monetarily to the household. Although alumni were not active in Cazenovia's survival efforts, evidence that alumnae can be the active force in saving a college may be found in the struggles of Wilson College at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania (Beeman, 1979).

In a discussion of potential college supporters one would expect faculty to have a highly vested interest in the success of their college. There is little evidence, however, that faculty have intiated movements to save their colleges. This does not mean that they have not taken active and involved roles once the movement has started. Perhaps this is related to their more personal, departmental or discipline-centered involvement. Their interest and energy is not commonly institutionally centered, but their efforts appear more personally and departmentally focused. When failure comes, it is seen as institutional failure and faculty traditionally have not acted as instigators of institutional revitalization.

One might also hypothesize that strong faculties are found at strong colleges (those not threatened by failure). There are examples from the data indicating that Cazenovia faculty "has been considered traditionally weak" exhibiting no strong leaders to intiate movements. This condition may be generally true of failing colleges and their faculties. Therefore, there is no historical evidence of faculties from failing colleges acting as leaders of movements to save their colleges.

Whatever group it might be, for a failing institution to survive someone, some group, must have a vested interest in its survival. It is likely that the greatest and most continuous support will come from those who face a personal loss with the closing of the college, and who also believe that they

have the capacity to save the institution. In Cazenovia's case that group was the townspeople.

A Business Approach to College Operation

The primary group which came forward to save Cazenovia was a group of business people from the village. It is understandable that the strategies which they applied to save the college were business strategies. The committee talked of taking 10% off the top of operational expenses, examined the efficiency of the internal operation and sought to improve the effectiveness of the college's marketing and recruitment efforts. They studied the market before initiating programs and recruited new students through marketing techniques.

Faculty and staff became increasingly uneasy with the daily involvement of the villagers in the college's administration. As the tension grew between these two groups many became aware that the college needed a new president. It is not surprising that the Ad Hoc Committee to Save the College, many now new Board members, would choose a business-oriented president. However, it is somewhat surprising that a questionnaire sent to faculty and staff showed their interest also to be in a business oriented person. The purely academic candidate who had followed a scholarly career pattern was not favored. "The successful candidate," according to the questionnaire results, "would have a background in education, managerial abilities, preferrably a doctorate, but not necessarily a list of scholarly achievements, expertise in human relations, budgeting and financial ability, and fund raising knowledge and contacts" (Vogt, 1975, p. 6).

The individual chosen by the search committee has proven to be a strong leader who follows Peter Drucker's description of a strong manager. He immediately (1) set objectives; (2) organized; (3) motivated and communicated in

order to build a team; (4) evaluated by establishing yardsticks and analyzing, appraising and interpreting performance; and finally (5) developed people (Drucker, 1974).

Drucker goes on to show that this model has worked in business where failure has occurred due to mismanagement. He cites several examples: one of them being the Ford Motor Company.

> Henry Ford started with nothing in 1905 and in 15 years built the world's largest and most profitable manufacturing enterprise . . . By 1927, the seemingly impregnable business empire was in shambles . . . In 1944, the founder's grandson took over, ousted, two years later, his grandfather's cronies in a palace coup, brought in a totally new management team, and saved the company (p. 380).

On a much smaller scale, there is a parallel at Cazenovia with the replacement of the Board by Ad hoc Committee members, a new president, academic dean, dean of students, and director of admissions, followed by revitalization of the college. In the case of Ford Motor Company and Cazenovia there was a dramatic shift among those in power.

There are additional examples of business models being applied to the operation of threatened colleges and universities. These battles have been led by presidents described as controversial, crisis managers, efficiency experts, bottom-line men. They are accused of "lacking academic instincts, of usurping faculty privileges and trampling on sensitive egos" (Chernow, 1979, p. 32). This is not to say that they do not have their supporters. Sawhill, who guided New York University through its crisis, has admirers who say, "He has engineered perhaps the most dramatic rescue operation in the history of higher education . . . NYU now has a balanced budget, a substantial endowment, growing enrollment, and high faculty morale" (1979, p. 32). In the four years

that the current president has been at Cazenovia, he has balanced the budget, is building an endowment, and pridefully announces that the enrollment for Fall '79 was at an all time high for the past decade. The presidents described here are seen as long on zeal and short on tact. They are tough, authoritative, sometimes abrasive, vocal, and insulting, although Sawhill's style is sometimes called "tight lipped and guarded" (1979, p. 33). A common sentiment expressed at Cazenovia which parallels the views of colleagues in places like NYU is: "All we know is that our salaries are not keeping up with inflation, that we are working much harder than we used to, and that there are all kinds of inequities" (1979, p. 38). On the other hand, faculty in such situations are quick to acknowledge what these men have done in balancing the budget and increasing enrollments, and in keeping the insitutions alive. The ambivalence expressed here seems to be what Maccoby (1979) has described as the conflict between the conscious wish for autonomy and yearnings for protection and dependency.

The business model, strong manager approach was the managerial strategy used to save Cazenovia. It has also been used successfully at NYU. Their successes in revitalization do not mean that this is the only approach, however, it appears to be the most successful, thus far, with failing institutions. There are also examples of colleges which have implemented new managerial practices before a crisis has arisen. Cheit (1973) reports that questions of money have led to questions of purpose. As judgments were made concerning quality and purpose, new administrative and faculty standards were developed. Good management has made the changes necessary to avert financial problems.

Society and College Governance

The administrative techniques and college organization under Cazenovia's three most recent presidents have been quite different. It seems that the type of organization and administrative behavior are directly related to the environment of each period and have had a decided impact on the success or failure of the college. Berger and Luckmann (1966) have said that institutions are created to perpetuate and legitimate reality. That being the case, it seems logical that society would dictate the form of those institutions.

The university's administrative structure has traditionally been viewed as either a bureaucracy as described by Weber (1947) or as a collegium, described by Millett (1962), one of the foremost proponents of the latter model. Although today's colleges and universities retain vestiges of the bureaucratic model, e.g. competence is the criterion used for appointment, officials are appointed not elected, rank is recognized and respected, and security is present in a tenure system (Stroup, 1966) most colleges refer to their governance structure as a collegium. The collegium is characterized by a community of equals who arrive at decisions through concensus (Parsons, 1947). However, a recently developed paradigm, the political model (Baldridge, 1971 b), appears most accurate in describing today's college structure for decision making. This model recognizes that "concensus occurs only after prolonged battle and that many decisions are not concensus but the prevalence of one group over another" (1971 a, p. 7). The political model acknowledges that small groups of political elites govern most decision making at colleges and universities; however, this does not mean that one group governs all decisions. It is the vying for power and control among groups that produces the tension and conflict naturally present in a dynamic organization.

In 1957, when a new president was appointed at Cazenovia, the organizational structure put into place by her was that of a bureaucracy. Most decisions were made routinely by officials who had been given that responsibility by the formal administrative structure. A past administrator describes the organizational, decision making structure from 1957 to 1968.

> There were four decision makers: the executive vice-president, the academic dean, the dean of students and the financial director. That group formed a strong central government which made decisions that the President endorsed. Each of these people had interests in the groups under them and therefore each of these bodies had a voice.

This governance structure came into being at another time in Cazenovia's history when it was struggling to survive. The president who initiated the structure was appointed to close the college. Perhaps because the viability of the institution was in doubt, control from a central administration was unchallenged. This bureaucratic model of governance was supported at Cazenovia until the late sixties when dramatic events in society affected a change in the college's organization and administration.

National dissent and disruption on college campuses caused Cazenovia to reexamine its governance structure. In efforts aimed at instituting participatory governance, Cazenovia formed the all college Senate. The "collegium" or "community of scholars" is the model which best decribes the Senate. The collegium emphsizes the "dynamic of concensus"; however, one of the greatest disadvantages of this model is the extreme amount of time required for decision making. Allusions to the breakdown in decision making at Cazenovia are found in participants' comments regarding the all college Senate. It was described as "democracy run wild", "unwieldy", and so time consuming that

participants withdrew from the process. As long as the organization continued to work within the collegial structure, action was stymied.

In affluent times institutions can seemingly tolerate ambiguity and a lack of decision making or action. As resources become scare, however, there is a need for clearly stated institutional policy, timely decision making and precise lines of authority to initiate action. The collegium frequently fails to offer any of these.

When timely central decisions did not materialize at Cazenovia, reactive moves began to occur within subdivisions as a means of addressing crisis situations. Unfortunately the reactions only addressed the symptoms and failed to identify and treat the cause of failure. Finally, as the situation eroded the collgeium was circumvented when the Board and President announced that the college would close without consulting the Senate. The announced closing had the effect of initiating centralized and focused action from two interest groups, the townspeople and the students. The actions of the townspeople translated into pressure which emerged as policy whereby an agreement was reached with the Dormitory Authority and the State Commissioner of Education. The actions of the townspeople, spawned a new governance structure at Cazenovia closely aligned to the political model described by Baldridge (1971 a). This model is characterized by various groups within the organization vying for power.

Evidence of this struggle for power may be seen at Cazenovia. When the townspeople assumed responsibility for the college there seemed to be a power vaccuum. The President and Board had used their power to close the college, but at the same time announced their lack of power to keep the organization running. The Ad hoc Committee immediately formed a bloc to challenge the Board, the Dormitory Authority and the State Education Department. The challenge is evident in the Ad hoc Committee Chairman's words,

It was very basic and very emotional, our claim that they're not going to do this to us. There was an emotional challenge and also the fun of the battle.

Two elements ultimately initiated the search for a new president at Cazenovia. There was a growing resistence to the absolute power of the Ad hoc Committee, many of whom had become Board members, and the new Board members were growing tired of the constant demand on their time which the care of the college required. The business oriented new Board wanted a president who would continue to manage the college using a business model. The faculty and staff realized the tentative position of the college and saw a strong manager as possibly the only hope for the college's survival. The individual chosen as president had no doubt as to his ability to turn the college around, but knew that controlling power was essential. He accepted the job under the conditons that the Board stay out of the every day operation of the college and that the college Senate would be circumvented through task forces which he appointed. Although faculty much preferred a concensual model of decision making they acquiesced because they saw it as the only hope for the college's survival.

The power which had been largely centered in the Ad hoc Committee, now turned Board members, was delegated to the President. In the four years (1975-1979) that the current President has been at Cazenovia, power and control has been centralized in that office. As financial conditions improve at the college and the institution becomes stabilized, tension and conflict between power blocs builds.

According to Baldridge (1971 a) this unrest is due to a "democratic tendency in the university, just as there is in the larger society". It is my hypothesis that administrative power and control will be accepted and even

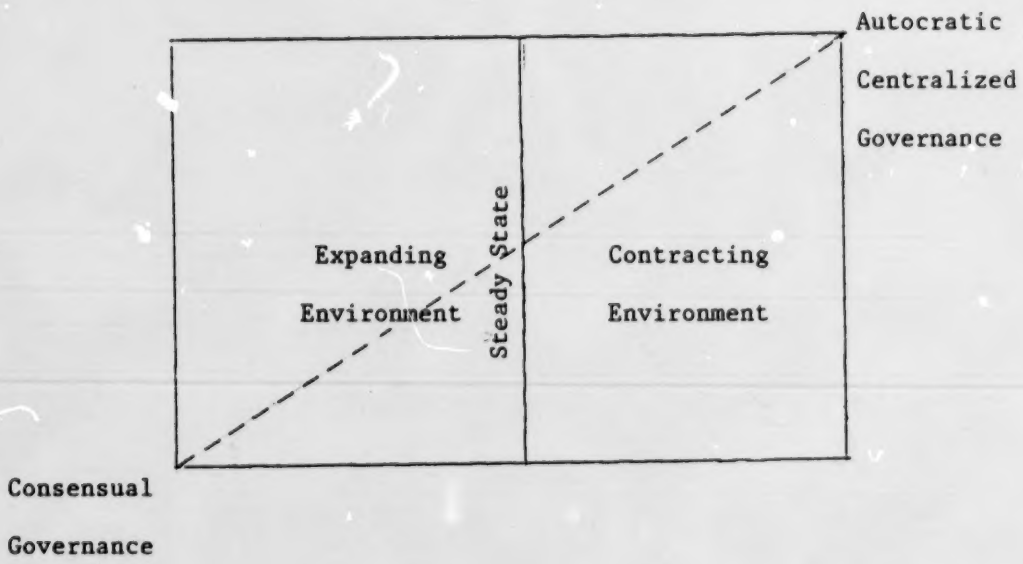
sought after in times of financial decline among colleges. In affluent periods the consensual model will show ascendancy and administratively strong presidents will be viewed with less esteem.

Figure 2

Transitional

Political Governance

Model



Conclusions

For small colleges to survive in periods of decline they must monitor their environment carefully, because the environment is their life support system. The board, in choosing a president during these periods ultimately determines the success or failure of the organization; therefore, the board must understand the larger environment and its impact on the college. Their choice of president should be directly related to the needs of the period.

Although final responsibility for the college rests with the board, this does not mean that other groups will not vie for control. Faculty and students generally seek power through promotion of the collegial model. Administratively strong presidents will seek to have power for decision making centered in that office. When faculty are in high demand within the larger environment and the organization is expanding because there is an abundance of resources, faculty will exert greater control within the college. When there is an over abundance of available faculty and shrinking resources, control will shift to central administration. For a president to exert strong control during periods of environmental expansion can bring on conflict within the institution. Conversely for a president to exert little control in times of shrinking resources can be equally detrimental to the institution (Cyert, 1978). The difficult task is to read the environment correctly and then choose the president most complementary to those conditions(Fiedler, 1967). It is a task that no board member should take lightly, for the survival of the small college in periods of decline may depend upon it.

The primary purpose of case studies is the formulation of hypotheses which can be tested through replication in future studies. This case study of survival has produced the following hypotheses:

1. For small colleges to survive in periods of financial decline, they must adapt to their environment. This may mean change or modification in their present role.
2. For small colleges to survive they must have Boards highly committed to the insitution.
3. When the threatening conditions within an institution are not addressed by the Board and President, denial will occur among other college constituencies.

4. Liberal arts faculty resist the introduction of vocational programs for three possible reasons: the difficulty of individual change, what they believe to be a loss of status and respect as a liberal arts faculty, and the tendency to maintain an established role.
5. For a failing institution to revitalize itself, some group must have a vested interest in the success of the college and also believe that they have the capacity to alter existing circumstances.
6. For faltering colleges to survive in periods of decline, power and control must be centralized.
7. In periods of affluence the consensual model of college governance will show ascendancy and administratively strong presidents will be viewed with less esteem.

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